



THE LIBERATOR.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

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THE LIBERATOR.

What is the question?—It is to cease immediately from giving our slave population all the reasons which can be given them, to hate and destroy us if they could. It is immediately to give them all the reasons in our power to give them, to love and respect us. It is immediately to cease from keeping their interests and our interests at cross purposes. It is immediately to make our interests and their interests one. Acting as we do at present, we expect safety while we are continuously goading them to despair and revenge!! We fear revenge and hatred if we should give them cause for love!! But the righted and the cherishing man, as a general rule, is always safer than the wronged and insulted one.—CHARLES STUART.

MEETING OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Agreeably to public notice, a large and respectable meeting of the free people of color, called by the New-York Society, auxiliary to the Convention of the Free People of Color, for their improvement in these United States, assembled in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, at Anthony Street, on Wednesday Evening, December 26, 1832: When, on motion, Mr. Samuel Hardenburgh was elected Chairman, and Henry Sipkins appointed Secretary.

After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, at his request, the meeting was opened with an appropriate prayer, by the Rev. Jas. Hayborn, (the pastor of the church.) Mr. Thomas L. Jennings stated, that among the leading matters which would occupy the attention of the meeting, were several important documents lately received from Europe, expressive of the sentiments that a very considerable portion of the people of the British Empire entertained respecting the deplorable situation of the colored people in the United States. Having made some excellent remarks on the conviction many of them entertained, that the American Colonization Society was the cause of a most cruel persecution of the free people of color, as well as of its insufficiency, if not its want of inclination, to any considerable extent, to lessen the interminable bondage of the slaves; he read the letter of Mr. James Cropper, of England, to Mr. Thomas Clarkson, (one of the most strenuous abolitionists of that country) on the impropriety of patronizing the Colonization Society.

Copious extracts were also read from various other foreign documents, and listened to with much attention. Particular interest was excited upon the reading of a part of the speech of the Honorable Daniel O'Connell, delivered at the Anniversary meeting of the London Anti-Slavery Society held in Exeter Hall, May 12th, 1832. Some observations on the character of Mr. O'Connell as a philanthropist, were made, and the following resolutions offered and unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved, That we highly appreciate the undeviating exertions of the friends of humanity in these United States, and in Great Britain, in the sacred cause of emancipation, and that they are entitled to our greatest respect and most sincere thanks.

Resolved, That we recognize in the Honorable Daniel O'Connell, of Ireland, the champion of religious liberty, the uncompromising advocate of universal emancipation, the friend of the oppressed Africans and their descendants, and of the unadulterated rights of man.

Resolved, That we regret that we are unable to make suitable returns for the disinterested friendship that he has manifested towards the cause of liberty and equality, to the terror of the traffickers in human flesh and blood; and that we should consider ourselves unworthy the sympathies of the liberals, and traitors to our cause, if we should withhold this public expression of our respectful gratitude.

Resolved, That we tender to the Hon. DANIEL O'CONNELL, our sincere thanks and respect for his great exertions in the cause of the oppressed,—hoping that when his labors of benevolence shall be finished on earth,—when the oppressor shall cease from his oppression,—he may receive the heavenly reward of Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations.

Resolved, That an address be prepared to accompany the above resolutions, and that the same be forwarded to Mr. O'Connell with all convenient despatch.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in as many of the papers friendly to the cause of emancipation as practicable, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

On motion, Messrs. Samuel Hardenburgh, Thomas L. Jennings, and Henry Sipkins, were appointed a committee to prepare the Address, and to attend to the publication of the foregoing resolutions.

In the course of the evening, the proclamation of General Jackson to the free people of color, on the banks of the Mobile, during the last war, was read; several extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society; and the address of the free people of color, held in the Boyer Lodge Room, in the city of New York, January 25th, 1831.

Throughout the meeting a very general dislike to the proceedings of the colonization society, manifested itself. The audience was admonished, that the support of the convention was among the means of counteracting the policy of that society.

A number became members of the Society by which the meeting was called.
SAMUEL HARDENBURGH, Chairman.
HENRY SIPKINS, Secretary.

We copy the following paragraph from the New-York Journal of Commerce, in relation to the above proceedings:

"We publish in another column, a series of resolutions adopted by a meeting of free people of color recently held in this city. It is a fact which we are unable to explain on any satisfactory principle, that the free people of color in the Northern States, are, as a body, strongly opposed to the objects of the American Colonization Society. Whether it be that they are afraid their influence will be weakened by any deduction from their numbers, or whether they suppose that the Liberatorians are less prosperous, independent and happy than themselves, we are unable to say."

The problem which thus puzzles the editors of the Journal of Commerce is easily explained—the people of color are opposed to the Colonization Society because it slanders and persecutes them, and perpetuates slavery.

EMANCIPATION—COLONIZATION.

[From the Genius of Temperance.]
As faithful chroniclers of the times, we cannot but notice the fact that great changes are taking place, in the minds of many, on the subject of our colored population. Many who looked exclusively to colonization for the relief which all feel to be necessary in some shape, are beginning to inquire whether something else is not necessary, and not a few are discarding the plan of colonization entirely. We advert, renewedly, to these facts, from an increasing conviction that inquiry on these topics is imperiously demanded, and with the hope of rivetting the public attention to such facts and arguments as we are preparing to spread before them, on both sides of the disputed questions. That the views are not confined to a few hair-brained fanatics, is becoming quite apparent. The last 'Liberator' contained letters from Professors Wright and Green, of the Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, fully approving the views and principles of that paper, and adding that President Storrs, of the same institution, concurred in the same.

The acute and wary editor of the Vermont Chronicle, hitherto (and perhaps still) a warm friend of the Colonization Society, and an opponent, if we mistake not, of Mr. Garrison, in noticing the Prospectus of Mr. G's new volume of the Liberator, holds the following modified language:

"Immediate emancipation, thus defined, is no such frightful affair; and this definition of his doctrine will do more to make converts to it, among reasonable people, than every thing else which we have seen from the pen of Mr. Garrison, put together. We advise him to substitute it for the standing extract from Dr. Lushington, at the commencement of his first paper. Let him then make his whole paper, for a while, little else than a comment upon it, showing with what rights they shall be instantly invested, and what peculiar laws shall be passed for their protection; and how, may be and can be enforced and executed. Let him show us how one difficulty and another is to be obviated. Let him give us a detailed account, a programme, of the 'supervision' which should be established for their benefit. Let him enable us to understand the whole affair; and the fewer adjectives he uses while about it, the better. Let him give the world a code of laws, such as the exigency demands, and lay down the principles, on which the details of that code are to be varied as it progresses toward the accomplishment of its object. Let him do this, and victory is secure. Mr. Garrison utterly mistakes the views and temper of our citizens, when he supposes they need philippics to excite them on this subject. Their stillness is not that of apathy, but of despair. They do nothing, because no plan of action is proposed, which commands itself to their understandings. They have taken hold of colonization, not because they ever viewed it as an adequate remedy for the evil, but as the only chance to do something, with some reasonable hope of benefit to somebody. Let Mr. Garrison make a better plan intelligible, and he will not want supporters."

EMANCIPATION SOCIETY versus COLONIZATION SOCIETY.
Considerable interest is excited in the public mind at this time, in relation to the conflicting movements of these two Societies, both of which are aiming to remove the evils of slavery. To the claims of the former Mr. Garrison, the Editor of the 'Liberator,' is most zealously devoted, while Mr. Danforth is presenting the claims of the latter, with a zeal no less praiseworthy. In attempting to remove this enormous evil, which has long stood as a foul blot upon our national character, it is a subject of serious regret, that the energies of Christians and Philanthropists should be divided. The Colonizing system seems to have been adopted, not because it adequately met the emergency, or promised to be a final and an effectual remedy, but because no better plan presented. Mr. Garrison complains of the entire inadequacy of this system; and contends, that it is as unprincipled in theory as it is ineffectual in practice. We have never been able heretofore to ascertain, with any considerable degree of precision, the course which Mr. Garrison has marked out for the safe and effectual emancipation of the slaves. Could Mr. Garrison furnish a plan in detail, the practicability of which should commend itself to the confidence of such as are best qualified to judge of its merits, we doubt not he would find himself, at once, surrounded with an ample supply of men and means for carrying such plan into effect. In this state of embarrassment and doubt in which public sentiment has been long involved on this subject, it has given us pleasure to witness the determined zeal and perseverance with which Mr. G. has adhered to his original purpose, of liberating the slaves not partially, but wholly from their yoke of bondage. He now comes before the public with the prospectus of his third volume, in which we find a more definite statement of his views, than we recollect before to have met

with. We sincerely hope he will mature a system, which shall yet result in the accomplishment of a purpose, so entirely worthy of all the labors and sufferings which he has encountered in its behalf.

[Here the Revivalist inserts a portion of the Prospectus of the Liberator.]

We flatter ourselves that Mr. G. by a patient and still further protracted investigation of a subject, which evidently lies so near to his heart, will have wisdom given him to fill up the noble outlines here laid down. While we have no disposition to throw a single impediment in the way of the Colonization Society, and are by no means prepared to say, it has not adopted the best possible means of removing the evil under consideration, we should at the same time regret exceedingly, to have Mr. Garrison abandon his enterprise.—Rochester Revivalist.

AFRICAN SLAVERY.—No. I.

It is a maxim in politics, as well as morals, that 'all have equal rights.' That no man is by birth a slave or a bondman, but is entirely free—as free as Adam was, when he first came forth from the hands of his Creator. Among no class of men is, or should this be in more vigorous exercise than among Christians;—among those who have been united by ties which are stronger than death. Notwithstanding the acknowledgement of this principle in theory, it is denied in practice. Christian philanthropists and politicians have erred in this point, they have not acted upon the broad basis of natural equality, they have lost sight of this fundamental principle in the science of government.

America is hailed as the land of freedom—an asylum for the oppressed—a home for the destitute—and a refuge from storms and persecutions.

If this be true, what means the slavery of two millions of our fellow-men in its very bosom? What mean their deprivation and oppression? Let us case, none can deny, that they are literally compelled to lick the dust—that the very 'iron hath entered into their soul,' is a matter of fact, which few, if any, can with any degree of propriety call in question.—It is our country's past and present history. It is necessary here to have it understood what we mean by freedom and slavery. Political freedom 'consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another,' and slavery is just the opposite of this, viz. the taking away this 'power of doing.' With this definition we are prepared to say, that our free, happy, and beloved country, has been engaged in carrying on one of the worst systems of slavery.—Although we have no Dukes nor Lords—although we have not as in the mother country, a nobility, (or no-nobility,) still we have the worst species of tyranny exercised toward our colored population—a domineering over them in the most lordly manner. It is not my design to examine this subject as a matter of national policy, or duty, for the people only are responsible for the acts of the government, but as a matter of individual concern. I wish to examine the foundation upon which this tyranny is based, this trampling upon the rights of the negro. While foreigners come, and find an open port—are hailed with a welcome spirit upon their arrival—and mixing in with their fellows, are merged in one social compact;—the poor and long-despised sons of Africa must either be debased altogether an admittance, except as slaves, or be excluded from all the rights and enjoyments of society. While numbers are continually flocking from the mountains of Switzerland, from the plains of Bavaria, and from the fields of Erin, (guided by the star which hovers over this 'cradle of liberty,') the poor African is cast out, despised, and treated as a bondman and a slave. Taking slavery as it exists at present, the question arises—What shall be done? If we abolish slavery, what shall be done with the slaves? The Colonization Society answers—Ship them. Where? To their native land—back to the shores of ill-favored Africa.

The voice of conscience, and of religion, answer—Liberate them—keep not back from them that which has been entrusted to them by their Creator! Restore unto them their natural rights and privileges! Which course the American people will adopt remains yet to be determined. It is an important question, which course this people ought to pursue, whether to transmute, and colonize them, or to let them remain among us in the enjoyment of their liberties, and instruct them in the principles of religion and government, and they thus become members of our American Republic. I shall attempt in the following number to show that the latter course ought to be adopted, so that they may become fit members of society on earth, and prepared for the society of Heaven, to dwell with glorified spirits in the Celestial Paradise above.

Slaver Captured.—A Spanish brig, with 394 slaves on board, was captured by the British brig of war Victor, on the south side of the Island of Cuba, and sent into Havana on the 14th ult.

TIME FOR DECISION.

[From the Boston Courier.]
An anti-tariff paper said some time ago—"It is full time that the complaints of the South should be attended to, and that we should yield to the forbearance of the other southern states generally, what we might perhaps (mark that,) be disposed to deny to the threats of South-Carolina." Perhaps, indeed! what a brave spirit is here. What valor mingled with discretion. Give a reason upon compulsion.—Perhaps not—though they were as plenty as blackberries.

The feeling which dictates such remarks is pitiful to the last degree, and unworthy of a true son of the North. We have made the above quotation for the purpose of exhibiting the slavish and recreant spirit—slavish to the South, recreant to the interests of the North—which seems to govern certain papers among us—a spirit as crouching and servile as that of the most subdued slave who is scourged to his daily task on a southern plantation. With these, the North has no rights—her people are sordid in soul and groveling in feeling.—The South, on the contrary, is the very soul of chivalrous honor and magnanimity, by whose self-sacrificing generosity we have been permitted to monopolize all the blessings of the Union, and derive a base prosperity from her uncalculating profusion. Whenever she chooses to recall her gifts, it is base and ingratitude to refuse to surrender them. Born for her use, we should live but to obey her.—Such spirits are unworthy of the land whose interests they thus betray, and whose character they traduce. Their congenial element is in a warmer climate.

But it is in one respect full time that the grievances of the South should be attended to. It is time that they should be told and made to feel that slavery is their only real grievance—the wasting disease which is consuming them by inches. In this crisis, when the foundations of our social systems are threatened with disruption, and are to be tested—delicacy on this subject is treason against the Union—it is tampering with a deadly disease, which is secretly and surely stopping the pulses of life. We are not to impute the institution as a crime to the South. (1) It is their inheritance of misery, for whose existence they are not responsible, and which, we have no doubt, they, in their secret hearts, deplore. (2) But now that we are again called upon to make a sacrifice of our own prosperity to appease their complaints, it is the time to speak the truth plainly, and to tell the South that the evils they suffer, or imagine, are the consequences of slavery, and of nothing else. It is the time to proclaim that best established maxim of political economy, that prosperity and slavery cannot co-exist; that slave-labor, with its inevitable concomitants, will sterilize the most fertile soil, and impoverish the country enjoying the highest physical advantages, while at the same time the advancing progress of free states cannot be permanently retarded. One of our contemporaries has stated these truths in the following forcible terms:—

"Raze every dwelling-house, store, manufactory or other building to the ground—demolish every wharf and warehouse, and consume all their contents with fire—destroy every improvement north of the Potomac and Ohio—tear down the inclosures—uproot the orchards and gardens—sacrifice all the stock on the farms and the grain in the granaries—and yet, in half a century, if slavery continue in the south, that section of the country will be less flourishing than the North. Freedom is irrepressibly buoyant—slavery is irreversibly depressing."

The complaint of decay from the South is older than the protective system. The tariff of 1816 was the result of these complaints, and was intended to counterbalance the superior commercial prosperity of the North, by protecting the staples of South Carolina from foreign competition, and securing for them exclusively the domestic manufacture and market. The relief afforded by this measure was but temporary, and in a short time the complaints of the South were revived with a tone of ten-fold sadness. Other measures of alleviation have been adopted by the national legislature, with a similar result. Complaints have still continued and multiplied, and concession has seemed to have no better effect than to aggravate them. If the North should be willing, as she is required to do, to make a holocaust of all her interests, there is no reason from past experience to believe that it will be effectual—that it will reach or remove a single obstacle to the prosperity of the slave states. It is not then the time for the North to talk of concession—but of resistance—to save their own prosperity from being any longer subject to the unreasonable, the absurd caprices of the South, by stating decidedly their solemn convictions of the true origin and source of the evils endured by the South. In this way alone can we hope to maintain the Union in any form under which it is worth preserving.

(1) Yes we are, as a crime of the foulest, deepest dye.—ED. LIB.
(2) They deplore it as an incorrigible thief deplores his inability to plunder his neighbors with impunity.

BOSTON,

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1833.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the Annual Meeting of this Society, held by adjournment at Boylston Hall on the 16th inst. David Lee Child, Esq. proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. C. commenced with saying that if the malignant Cholera had rewards and offices to bestow, it would have friends and admirers; its proclamations, if it issued any, would find presses to praise them, whether their purpose were to save or sacrifice a community. On the other hand, we had it on the highest authority that when the Saviour of men was despised and persecuted upon earth, there was none so poor as do him reverence;—none so low but that to have acknowledged his acquaintance would have made them lower. Knowing from history and observation that these things were so, he had not come forward, on this occasion, at the invitation of the Anti-Slavery Society, without being fully aware how little favor, or rather how great invidiousness he was about to provoke, even from persons whose good opinion he valued. But this was not the only adverse circumstance, with which he who undertakes to plead the cause of the despised and persecuted Africans had to contend. He must not only forego that sweet breath of popularity, which rewards so many patriots for persuading the people that they are 'the most enlightened and virtuous upon earth'; but he must also encounter positive and continual personal danger. He saw in this assembly a man whose character was irreproachable—whose life had been blameless from his youth; a man, who had committed no offence against the laws of this Commonwealth, who was not even charged with committing any; a man in the peaceable and industrious pursuit of a trade which was deemed so important to the well-being of the Commonwealth as to be the only one protected by name in our Constitution; (1)—and yet a price had been set upon that man's head! A State of this Union, by a deliberate and formal act of legislation, had held out an enticement to every cut-throat in this country, or within the reach of its presses, to commit the most heinous breach of the peace of this Commonwealth; to insult her undoubted constitutional sovereignty; to trample on the supremacy of her laws, and to shed the innocent blood of her citizens! Who could tell where and when this audacious infraction of the laws of nations and of the Constitution of the United States (2) would stop, or whither it would go? No man who should dare to say, human beings in bondage, scourging and killing them as the passion and caprice of a tyrant dictated, were contrary to justice, humanity, to republican principles, and to the laws of God, would in future be safe. He (Mr. C.) might soon have a price set upon his head for daring to denounce the insolent and murderous proceeding to which he had alluded, or for expressing his honest convictions upon 'the greatest of all public questions.' (3) 'Who was rank, who was next to be let blood,' none could tell. Perhaps it would be the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth; and if it were, it would not be less atrocious, though certainly less mean and base, than what had already been done. It was handed down as a saying of the lawgiver and chief magistrate (4) of an ancient Republic, that 'that was the best form of government where an injury done to the meanest citizen, was esteemed an injury to the whole state'; and an eloquent and profound modern (5) had declared of law, that 'her seat is the bosom of God'; that 'all things on earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power.' If the government of the republic of Massachusetts were to be tried by these acknowledged tests, how mortifying must the result be? Perhaps it would have been well for the honor of the State and the safety of the citizens, if the legislature of Georgia had been pleased to select a more important victim. If it had happened to be his Excellency, instead of a humble printer, if it had been the strong and the armed, instead of the weak and the unarmed, something might perhaps have been heard about it in the high places of power before the lapse of a year and a half! Something might, in such a case, have been thought to be due to the violated peace and insulted dignity of poor old Massachusetts!

(1) The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought not therefore to be restrained in this Commonwealth.—*Constitution of Massachusetts, Art. 16 of the Bill of Rights.*

(2) A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state, from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.—*Constitution of the United States, Art. 4, Sec. 2.*

The above provision prescribes the only mode, and defines the only causes of seeking on the part of one state to obtain possession of the person of any free man residing or being in another state. If, as is believed to be the fact, the editor and printer of the Liberator have been demanded of our Governor, and he has refused, as he must do according to the plain meaning of the above provision, to deliver them up, are not the conduct of Georgia and the passive submission of our own state (indisensible indeed on any principle of justice or of the law of nations) greatly aggravated?

(3) Speech of the late Sir James Mackintosh at a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of England, held in London, April 23d, 1831.

(4) Solon.

(5) Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Preface.

He had said that the act of Georgia was a violation of the law of nations. There was in his mind no doubt upon this point. If Georgia had no right to send her famous 'guard' to seize and manacle or murder the citizens of Massachusetts, much less had she a right to move and instigate to it by an enormous public bribe the army of kidnappers and villains which is spread over the face of this country, and for 'a suitable reward' would cut a throat, or subvert a constitution! (6)

And what were the people doing, while this apathy reigned among their rulers? A large portion were busy in stirring up the nation to avenge the abduction and murder of William Morgan, in which few comparatively could have been concerned, and in which it was to be hoped that very few were concerned; but the abduction and murder of William Lloyd Garrison, contrived and conspired by a whole State, and in momentary danger of being executed, obtained none of their sympathy or attention! Was a living citizen and friend of less importance than a dead stranger? It was the doctrine of our law that he, who knowingly permits a crime to be committed, is equally guilty with the contriver and actual perpetrator. If, then, we should permit our fellow-citizen, after more than a year's warning of the designs upon him, to be kidnapped and murdered, as he assuredly would be, if once in the power of the 'tyrants who batter at his peace,' how great would be our guilt and infamy!

The hideous and afflicting fact announced in the resolution, which he had had the honor to submit, was now to be proved. If he should succeed in making it manifest to all, let none blame him for publicly stating it, and invoking to it the attention of the country. If he failed, he would, for the honor of the republic and of human nature, heartily rejoice.

The most obvious and universal of those peculiar hardships, under which the colored race labor in this country, is the inveterate, cruel, and, I will add, ferocious prejudice against their skins; or rather, to put the guilt where it ought to lie, the *reticte* of their skins, because it is well known that their *cuticle* or outer coat is every bit as white as our own. No industry, no usefulness, no integrity, no intellectual attainments, nor moral rectitude, had ever yet been able, in the eyes of us republican judges, to atone for the enormous guilt of a reticte, 'not colored as our own.' The considerations of our common origin and end, even the sacred axioms and solemn monitions of God's own voice, that he made of one flesh all the nations of men, and will dissolve them all in one common dust, cannot shake that stubborn prejudice, which closes, as with bars and bolts, the bosoms of Americans to the oppressions and complaints

This illiberal and unchristian prejudice does not exist in the same degree in any other country. In Spain and Portugal, and their colonies, and in Brazil, it does not exist at all. Brazil contains more negro slaves than any other nation; and if the prejudice were founded in reason and nature, it ought to be stronger there than elsewhere, because 'in every nook and corner of the empire the African hue is associated with servitude and degradation; and yet colored men are eligible to, and do occupy the highest offices, they command armies, plead causes, heal the sick, and minister at the altar. Colored pastors are extremely numerous, and their flocks embrace both white and black. In the French colonies the prejudice exists, but is not violent; and it may be inferred from well known facts, that it never was very strong either there or in France itself. Mirabeau, Lafayette, and many other illustrious Frenchmen, are described as associating on terms of equality and friendship with intelligent and respectable negroes. (7) Napoleon advanced a brave colored soldier through the subordinate grades to the rank of Major General, and named him 'the Horatius Coclès of the Tyrols.' (8) A favorite engineer and general of Peter the Great was a black. He arrived at eminent distinction, and was decorated with many orders of knighthood. His son was the founder of the city of Cherson. (9) It is a familiar fact that in Turkey, color creates no obstacle in the way of merit. In England, where the customs and habits most resemble our own, all distinction is quite done away. I have seen colored men at the chess-board, at the card-table, at feasts, at churches, at hotels, and arm-in-arm in the streets, with white men of the first eminence for rank, talent and station. Even in the British colonies, where a cruel and wicked spirit to some extent still survives, whites can set by the side of black *jurymen*. Was such a phenomenon ever beheld in this republic? If it had been, we should doubtless have heard of it. It would have made more noise than nullification. Thousands of eyes would have been enlarged, thousands of hands held up in amazement, which would never have been relaxed except in an unextinguishable and universal titter of laughter. How small and contemptible must we appear

(6) It is an established principle of the law of nations that an injury threatened, is as much a violation of the rights of a state, and a cause of war, as an injury done.—*Vattel* p. 433.

(7) See Clarkson's account of his visit to Paris, *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, vol. 2, p. 165.

(8) General Dumas. See *Gregoire's Inquiry into the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes*, p. 100.

(9) *Ib.* p. 173.

in the sight of enlightened and impartial foreigners! How worse than contemptible in the sight of God! Can a colored person gain access to our hotels? Let the foul treatment, which educated and gentlemanly strangers from Hayti have repeatedly received in our land, answer the question? Can they sit at our tables? We exclude them from the table of our Lord!

I have heard an anecdote since I came into this Hall, which strongly illustrates the state of feeling among us. My friend, the worthy President of this Society, delivered a discourse a few weeks ago in a Unitarian church of this city;—and I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the high-minded clergyman, who, uninfluenced by the example of his brethren, opened his pulpit on that occasion. Some time afterwards, in making his parochial visits, he called upon a family, who presently began to apologize for their absence from several sabbaths from meeting. And what do you suppose was the cause of it? They said that they approached their pew on the Sunday that our friend delivered his discourse, and to their astonishment and horror they found it occupied by a—what do you guess?—tiger? No.—Boa Constrictor? No. Something worse than either; something whose presence pollutes and poisons, more surely than the fangs of ferocious monsters destroy—in short they found it occupied by colored folks! whom the sexton had most imprudently conducted there. They could not bear the thought of sitting in it again; and in conclusion had abandoned it, though it cost them two hundred dollars, and had purchased another pew in another church.

A recent instance of a less harmless and more disgraceful character, was stated in the Liberator of last week. A theological student named Ray, was expelled for his color, by a vote of his fellow students, from the Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut; and he will probably be compelled in consequence to forego the noble object to which he was preparing to devote his life. How painful, how humiliating is the contrast between the conduct of these professed followers of Wesley in this so much boasted land of light and liberty, and of their brethren in the land of monarchy and darkness—the so much abused and belittled Great Britain. There Methodist ministers are daily encountering obloquy, stripes, conflagration and death in order to teach and bless the poor negro, and to pour light and consolation into his soul! (10) Here—alas, I cannot bear to finish the parallel. Be the face of my country veiled in this picture.

Some years ago, there was in Boston a colored gentleman named Sanders—Prince Sanders. He was a man of very respectable. He wrote and published a good many valuable works, and took a peculiar interest in the affairs of Hayti, at a time when the destiny of that interesting country, and its more interesting cause, was quite doubtful. To the honor of Bostonians be it said, that this useful and worthy character was much and generally respected by them. He was even received in a hospitable and familiar way at the houses of many of the most respectable of our citizens. Subsequently, Mr. Sanders visited England, and resided in London; where he was a marked man, greatly noticed and favored by the most eminent persons in church and state. If in Boston some little rills of respect had set towards him, in London it was a huge and swelling tide. While he remained there, the family of a wealthy Yankee took up their abode for a winter at the West End. Mr. Sanders was acquainted with them, and he called to see them on one morning at breakfast time, as is common in Europe, and he found them, as he expected, assembled at the breakfast table. The lady entered cheerfully into a variety of chat, continuing in the mean time, though not with quite her customary ease and grace, to dispense the coffee. After the family had risen from the table, she said, as if by a sudden start of recollection, 'Perhaps you have not breakfasted; wont you let me pour you out a cup of coffee?' Mr. Sanders was an experienced and keen observer. He had seen all that had passed—and a great deal that had not passed; and with a slight feeling of triumph, but with perfect good temper, for he knew how to make allowances in the case,—he answered, 'I thank you, Madam; I am engaged to breakfast with the Prince Regent.'

If we do not find the prejudice against the African hue to exist in any other country to the same desolating extent as in our own; if we find that in many where the causes (if cause can be seriously predicated of it) are the strongest, it does not exist at all; if we find it condemned by the divine law; if we find that we ourselves are free from it in respect to the color of a coat,—let us look still deeper and see if we find it lurking in our nature when unsophisticated; let us see if we find it forming any folding of the infant heart. Do your children refuse to receive or return the caresses of their colored nurses? Do they not nestle in their bosoms? And do they find a black heart there? 'Except ye become as little children, ye shall in nowise enter into the kingdom of Heaven.'

(10) See the account of the murder of the Rev. Mr. Smith by the planters, and of the destruction of the Chapels in the British Colonies. *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, *passim*.

[Remainder next week.]

The Rev. Mr. Russell, of Watertown, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation, is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell said—He should occupy the floor but a few moments. It had been remarked by the gentleman, last up, that the pulpits and presses of New-England were silent upon the evils of slavery. As a general truth this statement would bear, especially when the principles of immediate abolition and colonization are to be compared and discussed. But he could not believe that this grew out of the hardened stupidity so much as out of the mistaken policy and misguided benevolence of the good people of New-England. Let correct sentiments obtain, and there is sympathy to feel, zeal to work, and benevolence to operate among us. The Colonization Society has appealed again and again to the sympathetic humanity of the non-slaveholding people of the North; and by its chicanery, has drawn largely from their coffers.

But, what is the policy of this institution? The people of New-England are made to understand that its object is, to befriend the people of color, bond and free—to mitigate the horrors of slavery, and pare down the mountain of its oppression, by removing the victims of its avarice to the *delightful and salubrious shores of Western Africa*.

This plan he would pronounce deceptive and 'preposterous in the extreme.' The Society had been in operation about fifteen years, during which time it had transported 2,500 or 3000 free blacks. We have, within the United States of America, 2,000,000 of slaves, and above 300,000 free people of color; and these unfortunate beings double once in about thirty years. Their numbers are increasing at the rate of 70,000, and every day brings with it 200 new born slaves. And yet, with these facts before them, the colonizationists would gravely tell us, that this Society can remove the evil, if we will only contribute liberally towards its funds.

He would have the audience attend to this matter a moment. In fifteen years they have exiled 2500, not of slaves, but of free blacks. During the same period, slavery has increased more than 500,000 in our country. That is, while 150 freemen have been sent to Africa in a year, 200 have been born to perpetual slavery in a day. Now, at this rate, how long would it take the Colonization Society to remove slavery from our country? If, in fifteen years, it can remove as many free men of color, as there are slaves born in two weeks, how long will it require this Society to banish slavery from this free and happy land of liberty, where men are bought and sold as cattle? This was a wonderful proposition, which the claims of the Colonization Society press upon us, and admits of the same solution with the question—how long would it require a single hand to empty the Atlantic into the Pacific ocean, with a bucket?

But let us suppose that something can be done in this way, i. e. by colonization, to destroy slavery. And they can certainly do nothing to destroy the evil, if they cannot suppress the rising flood and stay the pestilence where it now is; but, to do even this, they have 70,000 annually to remove to Western Africa!! To defray the expense of passage and other necessities, we will allow only \$50 for each individual, (and it will probably far exceed this sum,) and the yearly expense will amount to the round sum of \$3,500,000!! Let it be borne in mind, then, that this is not the sum requisite to destroy slavery, but to hold the evil, by means of colonization, where it now is. Three millions, five hundred thousand dollars!! A vast yearly revenue this!! And from whence is this yearly torrent of dollars to flow into the funds of the Colonization Society? Is it to be drained from us by legislative enactments, as has already been attempted, or by loud and incessant appeals to a blinded benevolence?

But, if the plan of colonization be a feasible one, it has a vast deal more to accomplish than what can be done with a yearly income of \$3,500,000. It has 2,000,000 of slaves to purchase—for it is one of the fundamentals in its creed that slaves are the real property of their masters)—at the average price of 250 dollars a head, at least. This would require an additional sum of 500,000,000 dollars. Add to this the sum requisite to hold slavery where it now is, and we have the enormous sum of five hundred and three millions, five hundred thousand dollars. Give these rapacious beggars this sum of money, and the aid of civil authority, and they may do something toward removing slavery from our country; but they will in turn reduce us to poverty and starvation. Who does not see from these statistics, that the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, when presented to a New-England audience as the only feasible ground of removing slavery, 'is preposterous in the extreme'?

But the real object of the Society, he was prepared to say, was not the removal, but the security and perpetuity of slavery. He affirmed and held himself ready to prove, by the official documents of the Colonization Society, that it is not their object to mitigate or destroy slavery. This Society was hatched up some sixteen years ago, as a matter of slave policy, in one of the slaveholding states. It

owes its existence to a secret session of the legislature of Virginia,—a state where are held in cruel vassalage more than four hundred thousands of human beings. Believe it then, who can, that the Colonization Society was put in operation for the destruction of slavery.

Masters, whose hearts had not become wholly frozen and petrified—who had, when in life and health, taken from the poor negro his liberty and the fruit of his labor, without rendering any thing as an equivalent—frequently became repentant when death approached; they could not think of appearing before their Judge, until they, in some measure, redressed the wrongs of their slaves by manumission. This, and other causes, produced a large and increasing number of free blacks in the South. These begin to acquire property and intelligence, and soon learn the principles and taste the boon of freedom. The class of freemen at the south,—I mean *freemen whose liberty is lost*,—stand near to the slave, and by every principle of natural association, sympathize with him in his toil, to him instruction and advice, and inspire the vassal with a warm and patriotic desire to be free. Under such circumstances, the question, as a matter of slave policy, would arise—what must be done with freemen of color, who naturally associate with our slaves, instruct their ignorance, pity their hard fortune, and swell within them principles of freedom? The Colonization Society is the result of this inquiry. It answers—Drive them from the soil—render their condition utterly intolerable at home, and then they will become volunteers for the coast of Africa.

This plan was first started by the first slaveholding State in the Union. The object was, the only object was, to open a door through which they might drive out the superabundant, and to them, dangerous increase of blacks. And this will enable the slaveholder to meet the shackles of slavery in perpetual security.

The Hon. Henry Clay and other friends of the Colonization Society have computed the annual increase of free blacks at 6000, and have talked of the necessity of removing them as fast as possible to Africa, their free and unmolested stay in this country being so wholly incompatible with the existence and safety of southern slavery. The policy of the slaveholding states seems to be, so far as they have any policy about it, to oppress, as much as possible, the free blacks—to take from them every immunity, and by the help of the Colonization Society, to 'fleece them into legions and exile.' This is evident from the fact that every session of their respective legislatures produces new and additional laws, to degrade, restrict and oppress the free people of color. Laws have recently been passed at Maryland and Virginia, interdicting any colored man, whatever may be his character or business, from entering into their territories, for one week's time, under the penalty of \$10 dollars; and if, unable to pay, to be thrown into prison, and finally sold into slavery as legal property—mere boards and bricks. The resident free blacks are cut off from almost every profitable employment, by a long train of disabilities, fines, imprisonments and licenses. And what is true of these States, is true of all slaveholding States, except in those discrepancies which are necessarily attendant upon the individual legislation and circumstances of each. In fact, the understanding between the slaveholding states and the Colonization Society seems to be this—you trainize over the free blacks, oppress and coerce them, close up the highway to every respectable and profitable employment, and render them of every endearment of home; and we ships shall be ready to transport them to the sickly, sultry and barbarous shores of Africa.

The resolution was adopted.

Amasa Walker, Esq. proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. President—I understand the objects of your Society to be the emancipation, education, and christianization of the slaves of this country. These objects appear to me to be in accordance with the dictates of religion, philanthropy and patriotism.

I am well aware that the resolution I have now offered is in direct opposition to public sentiment; but I have learnt that public sentiment is as often wrong as right. It is not many years since the universal opinion of our community was that ardent spirits were a necessary auxiliary to labor, and in moderate quantities might be daily used to advantage and profit. Now, Sir, alcohol is almost as universally rejected as poisonous and pernicious. Yet alcohol is the same now as it was twenty years ago. Public sentiment has changed: it was then wrong—it is now right. This is only one instance of hundreds that we could readily call to mind in which the public sentiment has been wrong.

Public sentiment in all cases is formed by circumstances. If those circumstances be favorable, it may be correct; if unfavorable, it may and probably will be incorrect.

Now, Sir, the circumstances under which public opinion was formed, in regard to the nature and objects of your Society, were, as I conceive, peculiarly adverse; and therefore your principles and projects are condemned without even a candid examination.

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The Colonization Society was instituted about fifteen years ago, for the professed purpose of colonizing the free blacks on the coast of Africa. This was a highly popular object, and was hailed with applause in every section of the Union. It soon enrolled among its members, men of the most exalted stations and influential character.—I believe, Sir, I am nearly correct in saying that all the Ex-presidents, Governors, members of Congress, and distinguished civilians of every State in the Union, together with the clergy of all denominations *en masse*, are patrons of this great and splendid association. Such a dazzling display of great names has never before been made by any association of modern origin in this country. So extensive a combination of power and influence has never been brought to bear upon one object before; and, Sir, in addition to all this, the press, that greatest engine of power, has with universal acclamation exposed the cause of the American Colonization Society.

It was under these circumstances, Mr President, that your Society commenced its labors; and your object was not to transport the blacks to Africa, but to emancipate and educate them at home. There was, therefore, from the nature of the case, a distinct collision between your Society and that in favor of colonization. The fact that your Society was sufficient to prejudice the public mind against your efforts. Notwithstanding all our boasts of intelligence, and freedom of thought and action, it is as true of the people of this country as that of any other, that where the great men lead, the people follow, without enquiring whether right or wrong.

It is enough for the multitude to know that all the great and popular names are ranged on a particular side of a question, and they think it safe and honorable too, to range themselves on the same side. We think ourselves the most intelligent people on the earth—and probably we are as much so as any other equally large and extended community; and yet, Sir, it is unquestionably true, that no people in the world are so completely led and controlled by the public press as we are.—Now, Sir, your Society has been obliged to encounter the direct opposition of the Colonization Society, of its innumerable and powerful friends, and still more of the public press—and while they have, by their extensive influence over the press, all the means of assailing your objects, you have but limited and feeble means of defence. They have great names, money and the press; you have little but the cause of truth to sustain you in the unequal conflict. All these considerations embolden me, Mr. President, to offer the resolution now laid on your table, however much it may be in opposition to public sentiment.

The resolution declares the objects of this Society to be 'in accordance with the dictates of Religion.'

I think, Sir, I need say little to prove this. The proposition is self-evident, if one of your objects be to 'Christianize the Blacks.' The Golden Rule settles the question: 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' What would we wish, if we were, like them, wearing the galling manacles of physical slavery, or the more dreadful chains of moral and mental bondage? What, I say, Sir, would we wish under circumstances like this? That we might be transported to Africa, there amid the sufferings and hardships of our expatriation, and after the necessary lapse of years if not of ages, to receive the blessings of liberty and the gospel? No, Sir, we should wish for these blessings, these dear and 'inalienable rights,' now; we should wish them to come to us on the wings of the wind.

I need not spend much time to show that Philanthropy approves of the principles of your Association. Philanthropy is 'love of mankind;—benevolence toward the whole human race;—universal good will.' Are the slaves members of the human family? Are they truly a part of mankind? Then they should be encircled in the arms of our benevolence and good will. To adopt the beautiful words of another:—'No matter in what language their doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or African sun may have burnt upon them; no matter in what disastrous battle their liberty may have been cloven down; nor with what solemnities they may have been offered upon the altar of slavery, they are still our brethren; and if brethren in adversity, how much stronger their claim to our sympathy and assistance!

The resolution, Mr. President, contemplates that the objects of your Society are in accordance with the dictates of Patriotism. We all profess to love our country, and to regard its present and future prosperity with feelings of the deepest interest. We believe not only our own happiness, but the best hopes of mankind, are suspended upon the success of our free institutions, and the welfare of our beloved country. What threatens the stability of our government, and the permanency of our Union? SLAVERY. What dark and angry cloud lowers in our Southern horizon, sending forth fearful premonitions of approaching devastation and ruin? SLAVERY. Yes, Sir, every intelligent politician knows and feels, that the real and radical cause of those violent commotions that now shake this republic to its

centre, is slavery. All feel, all admit that slavery is a direful curse; on this point, all agree; but the question comes home with resistless force, What shall be done? and here, Sir, we disagree. The Colonizationists say, and they profess to have as much patriotism as yourselves, and undoubtedly they have, however much they may be mistaken in their position, they say, Sir, that we must remove the free blacks to Africa, that we must procure the liberation of the slaves, and send them off, as fast as we can. You say, Sir, that we must liberate, educate, and christianize them at home, in this country. Now it is certainly true, that so far as our own selfish feelings and convenience are concerned, colonization appears altogether the most agreeable measure; and this is undoubtedly the great reason why it is so popular. It is very pleasant to most people, to think that these odious Blacks are all to be sent to Africa, where we are never more to be troubled or incommoded by them.

But two questions seem to arise here—one is, is this scheme morally right? The other, is it practicable?—And here, Sir, before going any further, I beg leave to remark, that I do not know that my sentiments will meet with your approbation. I do not know that my creed will be deemed by the Anti-Slavery Society, as orthodox. I come here by request, to express my opinions on the great subject of emancipating and educating the slaves, without knowing whether those opinions will be in accordance with your own, or those of any gentleman present. I wish not to be understood as being an official organ of your Society, but simply as expressing my personal views and opinions, formed after such attention to the subject as my multiplied engagements will allow me to give to it.

The first question is,—Is it morally right to expatriate the slaves?—I use the term *expatriation*, because that is the proper term.—Those now held in bondage among us are as much, and as truly, natives of the soil, as we are. They have, with very small exceptions, been born and bred here: some of them, the descendants of ancestors who came to this country nearly two centuries ago. Not only so, Sir, but they have earned by the hard, and I had almost said, bloody sweat of their brows all the soil on which they dwell. They have just as strong an attachment to the place of their birth, the graves of their fathers, as we have: and to send them to Africa is just as inhuman and unjust, as it would be to send us all back to England. But, Sir, I know I shall be met here by the declaration, that the friends of Colonization 'don't compel the blacks to emigrate.' This is a wonderful discovery, truly. So said the government of Georgia, in regard to the removal of the Indians—we don't compel them to go. No, Sir, they *did* not compel the Indians to go; but then, they rendered them so uncomfortable, by their oppression and injustice, that the poor Indians *can't stay*. And just so it is, Sir, with the Blacks. We, humane and benevolent people, do not mean or intend to compel the slaves to go back, though we did compel them to come here; but we will deprive them of the blessings of liberty and equal rights, we will not let even the blessed light of Christianity dawn upon their minds while amongst us—and if they wish for these things, let them go *willingly* where they can have them, to the far distant and inhospitable shores of benighted Africa.

It is often a matter of great curiosity, Mr. President, to observe the inconsistency of mankind—and a more striking instance, I venture to affirm, is not found in the whole history of our race, than the one to which I am about to allude. It is but a short time, a few months, since the sympathies of this community were excited to the highest pitch, by the proposed removal of the Cherokees from the land of their fathers, to the western banks of the Mississippi. The pulpit thundered, the press groaned, and an almost universal cry of indignation was heard throughout our land. The wrath of heaven, it was said, would rest upon our guilty nation, and the direst vengeance of a just God would visit us to the latest generation, if such an awful crime was perpetrated! All this was said and felt, because a few thousand Indians were to be removed from one part of the United States to another. And yet, Sir, these very men, who raised this lamentation, over Indian sufferings, look with entire complacency upon the expatriation of twenty-five hundred thousand of their fellow beings to the dark, sickly coast of Africa! They think it 'the best thing that can be done with the Blacks, the easiest mode of being rid of their troublesome company.' I have never felt more astonishment than while observing these strange facts, this utter inconsistency, this singular moral or mental blindness.

But whether right or not, the scheme of Colonization is wholly impracticable. The Society for that purpose has existed over 16 years, and has transported about 2500 blacks! Within that period, more than 500,000 have been born. Now, Sir, it will readily appear, without very nice arithmetical calculation, that at this rate it will take a long time to remove all the blacks to the other side of the Atlantic! Truly, Sir, this beats the fable of the frog jumping out of the well; for, in this case, the frog jumps up two feet every day, but he falls back more than three every night! But to be serious—the project is impracticable. It will appear so to any mind, aware of the magnitude

of the undertaking. It is no less, Sir, than the removal of an empire. Besides, how shall we emancipate them? They must be generally purchased; and the more you buy, the higher will be the price, until the slave that is now worth \$500, will bring \$1000, or even \$2000; and by that time, it will be quite a profitable operation to smuggle in a cargo!

The Rev. gentleman (Mr. Russell) who has preceded me, has been full and explicit on this point, and renders any further remarks unnecessary.

Now, Mr. President, having in my poor way shown, as I hope, that the objects proposed by the Colonization Society are unjust and impracticable;—I would make a few remarks on the measures contemplated by your Association. The people of the South can emancipate their slaves, and hire their services as free men. It is for their interest to do so. They can educate their Blacks, and they will be the better servants—more contented and happy. They can teach them the great principles of christianity, and they will be safer neighbors—better members of civil society. All this can be done, all this ought to be done. All this, Sir, I trust in God, will sooner or later be done. It is the only hope of the oppressed sons of Africa—the only salvation of our country.

I once thought widely different, but reflection and examination have convinced me of my error. I once thought, and declared, that the Editor of the Liberator was a madman—a wild enthusiast—insane on the subject of slavery. Sir, I am now happy to take this opportunity to apologize to him, and not only to him, but to the cause of injured humanity.

Mr. President, I know very well that most are ready to admit that it is practicable to emancipate and educate the people of color; but then—'What,' say they, 'shall we do with them? Shall we let them remain among us? Shall we allow them to enjoy the rights of citizens? If we do, they will be very unpleasant companions; and if we allow them to occupy territory by themselves, they will be uncomfortable neighbors.' These are the standing and insuperable objections, and they are all grounded on selfish principles, and on the doctrine that the slaves have not the rights of men. And here, Sir, I take it, is just the difference between the advocates of Colonization and those of Abolition. You hold, Sir, that the slaves have all the natural and inalienable rights of men; while those who contend that we ought to colonize the Blacks in Africa, because they will not be agreeable friends here; in fact, maintain the principle, that that unfortunate class of our fellow creatures have not the rights of men; merely the right of existence, in such place and under such circumstances as we may see fit to assign them.—Is it not so? Do I mistake on this point? Do I misrepresent? I certainly do not wish to do injustice to any one. I am sure that such appears to me the true statement of the case.

I wish here to say that I would not be understood, after all my remarks, as disapproving of the Colonization Society abstractly considered, and viewed only as it may affect the continent of Africa. That great good may be done them, I readily admit; and if free blacks, with the spirit and devotion of missionaries and martyrs, can be found to go their for the benevolent purpose of enlightening the darkest quarter of the globe, I am sure I would heartily bid them God speed. So far as Africa is concerned, it is well; but it is not so, in relation to our own country. As affording any hope of the final abolition of slavery here, it is entirely delusive. The people do look to the Colonization Society as the means by which these great and growing evils of slavery are to be removed. Here they are deluded; and on this ground I am opposed to the plan of Colonization. It can never answer the great purpose which the people of this country; the friends of the slaves, expect and hope to accomplish.

The people are deceived, not so much by any fraudulent intention on the part of the members of the Colonization Society generally, as by the peculiar nature of the case. The friends of humanity give their money and their prayers to the Colonization Society, and having done this, they think they have done all that lies in their power, and that the great work of redeeming our nation from the thralldom of Slavery, is going forward, as fast as it can. Their efforts are paralyzed, the chains of the poor slave are riveted stronger, and hopeless ruin settles down upon his prospects and his hopes. Such is the fact; and hence, Sir, I look upon your Society with a deep interest, as advocating the only true principles, and as affording the only hope of deliverance from the evils of Slavery.

But I will not extend my remarks further—I would only say,—Go on, Sir! Though you be few and feeble, you have the cause of truth on your side, and I devoutly trust the smiles of Heaven on your undertaking.

You must struggle long and hard. You must be content to toil and suffer. You must be patient under obloquy, misrepresentation and abuse. The undertaking itself is arduous; the obstacles, insurmountable, to any thing less than the most devoted zeal, the most untiring perseverance. You will finally prevail, posterity will appreciate your motives and your labors, while millions, enjoying the happiness of emancipation and christianity, will bless your memory to the latest generation.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Moses Thatcher offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech, which we hope to be able to give in another paper.

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. Garrison without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour:

Resolved, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community,—are highly meritorious; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

A MESSAGE

Of much importance was, as the reader will perceive, on reference to the proceedings of Congress, transmitted by the President of the United States to both Houses on Wednesday. The subject of it is the existing difficulty between the General Government and the State of South Carolina; and the Message was accompanied by copies of the several acts, proclamations, &c. which have emanated from both governments.

The Message is of great length. We shall, however, from a cursory examination of it, give our readers such a synopsis of it as will possess them of its general course and bearing, which we condense into the following paragraph:

The Message opens by a reference to the last annual message of the Executive to Congress, and to the intimation therein contained, that should any emergency arise, rendering the execution of the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue impracticable in any quarter of the Union, application should be made to Congress for such aid as they might appear to require. The message then goes on to say that events which have occurred in the quarter then alluded to, or which have come to the knowledge of the President subsequently to the date of his Annual Message, do present this emergency, as made known to him by the official transmission to him of certain acts of the State of South Carolina. The President then adverts to his Proclamation of the 10th of December, explaining his views, &c. to his expectation that that Proclamation would not have been without effect, which reasonable expectation has not been realized, as appears by the several acts of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina, which, he says, are calculated, both in their positive enactments, and in the spirit of opposition which they obviously encourage, wholly to obstruct the collection of the revenue within the limits of that State.

Referring to the Ordinance of the Convention, &c. the President says that no intimation has been received of the re-assemblage of that body, and the interval between now and the first of February, the day when the Ordinance is to take effect, is too short to allow of the preliminary steps being taken for that purpose. The President adds, that in the meantime the State authorities are actively engaged in organizing their military resources, and providing means for supporting them, &c. and giving the most solemn assurances of protection and support to all who shall enlist in opposition to the revenue laws of the United States; and the Governor of the State has, in a recent proclamation, openly defied the authority of the Executive of the Union, and invited volunteers to sustain the defiance. Thus, says the Message, South Carolina presents herself in the attitude of hostile preparation, and ready even for military violence, if need be, to enforce her laws for preventing the collection of the duties upon imports within her limits.

The President then proceeds at large to lay before Congress not only the acts and proceedings of South Carolina, but also freely to acquaint them with those steps which he has already caused to be taken for the due collection of the revenue, and with his views of the subject generally, that the suggestions which the Constitution in his opinion requires him to make in regard to future legislation thereupon may be the better understood.

The Message goes on to state that instructions have been some time ago issued from the Treasury to the Revenue Officers, pointing out their respective duties on the existing laws, &c. taking notification on the ground professed by its advocates, that it was pacific in its nature. Since which time circumstances had changed, and reviewing the history of the proceedings in South Carolina, &c. the President invites the attention of Congress to certain acts of the State, as published in the newspapers of the State, of which, although requested, the Executive had not succeeded in obtaining official copies from the proper authority of the State.

If these acts, says the President, cannot be defeated and overcome by the exercise of the powers conferred on the Federal Government, the Constitution must be considered as incompetent to its own defence, the supremacy of the laws is at an end, and the rights and liberties of the people can no longer receive protection from the Government of the Union.—These aggressions on the authority of Congress, the Message adds, are moreover absolute, indefinite, and without limitation;—they offer to the United States no alternative but unconditional submission. It is true, that, in their address to other States, the South Carolina Convention profess to submit a plan of taxation which they would agree to; it is true also that the Governor of the State, in his message, suggests the call of a Convention of the States as an alternative; but it is also true that the conditions on which they 'would be willing to acquiesce' form no part of the Ordinance, and even if these terms were offered in the same binding form as the Ordinance, they are so undefined, and depend upon so many contingencies, and are so opposed to the known opinions and interest of the great body of the American People, as to be almost hopeless of attainment—and the shortness of the

time would make them impossible, if they were not otherwise impracticable.

By these various proceedings, the Message says the State of South Carolina has forced upon the General Government the unavoidable duty of deciding on the new and dangerous alternative of permitting the State to obstruct the execution of the laws within its limits, or seeing it attempt to execute the threat of withdrawing from the Union. Both these purposes, says the message, are revolutionary in their character and tendency, and subversive of the laws and of the integrity of the Union.

The message then enters at length into a discussion of the rights of the Government and of the States, &c. and adds that, in deciding upon the course imposed upon the authorities of the Union, in the present crisis, it must not be overlooked, that there is no sufficient cause for the acts of South Carolina, or for her placing in jeopardy the happiness of so many millions of people. To establish which, the message enters into a recital of the alleged grievances, with some examination of their reality, &c.

The President then adverts to the solemn duty imposed by the oath of the Executive, to take care that the laws be executed, and examines the extent of the powers already conferred upon him for that purpose. Subsequently to the date of the instructions to Collectors, already referred to, and to the passage of the Ordinance, information is said to have reached the Executive that it would be impracticable for the Collector of Charleston to preserve the custody of vessels detained by him, against any attempt to remove vessels and cargoes from his custody.

The removal of the custom house, therefore, from Charleston to Castle Pinckney, was deemed a measure of necessary precaution.—From the nature of things, however, a similar precaution cannot be observed with respect to the ports of Georgetown and Beaufort, in South Carolina. After recurring to the various penal and other provisions of the late State acts, the message suggests the protection of the collection of the revenue, by placing the custom house beyond the immediate power of the Courts. The message also suggests the expediency of providing by law that the President of the United States may be authorized to alter and abolish such of the districts and ports of entry, in any State, as shall be necessary, and to establish the custom house of any port so abolished, in some secure port or harbor of the same State, &c.

As even these provisions cannot always protect the officers of the customs in the discharge of their duty, the Message further recommends the revival, with some modifications better adapted to the occasion, of the 6th section of the act of 3d of March, 1815, authorizing the removal of causes against officers of the Government, in certain cases, from the State Courts to the Courts of the U. States. It is also suggested as expedient, by modifying the existing legal provision on the subject, to authorize the Marshal to make the necessary provision for the safe-keeping of prisoners committed under the authority of the United States.—*National Intelligencer.*

THE CHEROKEES.

The following paragraph is from the Augusta (Geo) Courier, of the 4th inst. It presents a startling picture.

A passenger in the stage last night, who came through the Cherokee Nation, says that there was great excitement there. Some person who had drawn a tract of land, on which were improvements, attempted to take probably violent possession, and was resisted by the Indians, and that two families, consisting of nine persons, had been massacred by the enraged savages. He says the Georgia Guard is in close pursuit of the murderers.

List of Letters received at the office of the Liberator, since our last paper was issued.

Nathan Blount, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; D. Pomroy, Hickory Corners, N. Y.; Orson S. Murray, Shoreham, Vt.; J. G. Butler, Portsmouth, N. H.; Richard Johnson, New-Bedford, Mass.; John Kirk, jr. Kirk's Mills, Pa.; B. J. Talbot, Richmond, Ohio; E. Wright jr. Hudson, Ohio; John Mowatt, Newport, R. I.; Charles L. Remond, Salem, Mass. (2); George Cary, Cincinnati, Ohio; Doct. O. J. Eells, Cornwall, Vt.; S. Allen, Philadelphia, P. A.; P. Candall, Canterbury, Ct.; John Cromwell, jr. Philadelphia, Pa.; Isaac Statia, Newark, N. J.; J. Coffin, N. Bridgewater, Mass.; Ray Potter, Pawtucket, Mass.; Wm. P. Powell, New-Bedford, Mass.; C. W. Denison, New-York City; Harris Foster, Hartford, Ct.; P. A. Bell, New-York City; Rev. George Bourne, do.; Robert Bode, do.; Isaac Griffin, Saratoga, N. Y.; John Taylor, Bath, Me.; John Kenrick, Newton, Mass.

ARREST OF AVERY.

We learn that the Rev. Mr. Avery, for whom the Rhode-Island Legislature have offered a reward of three hundred dollars, has been arrested at Rindge, N. H., and was brought to this city, on his way to Rhode-Island, and lodged at Shepherd's Bromfield House last evening.

We have seen Col. Harnden who has Mr. Avery in charge; he informs us that he arrested the prisoner at the house of a Mr. Mahew, which is situated on a by-road about three miles from Rindge.—Mr. Mahew at first denied all knowledge of the prisoner, and he at length stopped at the door by one of the sheriff's officers. He had disguised himself by allowing his whiskers to grow, which previously had been shaved.

Col. Harnden and his prisoner were to wait for Fall River this morning at five o'clock.—*Courier.*

Go on, Mr. Danforth!—You may spin your cord as long as you please—we shall stretch you up to the beam, in due season

RARE CHANCE.

FOR sale, a large lot of Land, well situated in this city, on which are several buildings which may be easily converted into dwellings, or shops for mechanical purposes. The owner of it, being friendly to the people of color, is desirous of selling it to them, on terms lower than to the whites, that they may have an opportunity to pursue various branches of mechanical business under such circumstances as cannot fail to crown their efforts with success. He would prefer that a company should purchase it on shares, several of which he would be willing to retain himself. Application must be made very soon to the Editor of the Liberator, who can satisfy any persons of the disinterestedness of the owner, the liberality of the offer, and the utility of the purchase.

Boston, Jan. 26, 1833.

LITERARY.

[From the Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot.]
LINES

WRITTEN DURING THE LATE WARM WEATHER.

The air is like the breath of June!
The clouds float softly through the sky,
And waves beneath the glare of noon
In dazzling splendor lie.

Far off, along the glittering bay,
Full many a gallant vessel glides—
So smoothly that the foam-wreaths play
Scarcely against her sides.

Her white sails to the sunshine filled,
Gleam brightly as the silver clouds;
And flakes of yellow radiance gild,
And mingle with the shrouds.

O summer! from thy vanished train,
Did not some lingerers steal away,
And wait for winter's sullen reign,
To cheer us—as to-day?

And yet the distant hills arise
Barren, and desolate, and sere,
And tell, in spite of sunny skies,
The season of the year.

There is no spot of summer green,
Whereon the wandering eye may rest—
The trees no longer may be seen,
In leafy clothing drest.

The sick man ventures forth to breathe
The freshness of the genial air,
And smiles to feel the warm wind wreath
Its fingers in his hair.

And some delighted gaze around,
And some in a distrustful mood,
And some would say, with looks profound—
'It cannot come to good.'

For me—while Nature looks so bright,
I cannot but contented be,
And bless the warm air and the light,
Which thousands feel and see.

Life's real troubles are not few,
Why seek to add unto the sum?
Give me the wisdom, old and true—
To take things as they come.

[From the London New Monthly Magazine.]
STANZAS.

We have been friends together
In sunshine and in shade;
Since first beneath the chestnut tree
In infancy we played;
But coldness dwells within thy heart,
A cloud is on thy brow;

We have been friends together—
Shall a light word part us now?

We have been friends together,
We have laughed at little jests;
For the fount of hope was gushing
Warm and joyous in our breasts.
But laughter now hath fled thy lip,
And sudden glooms thy brow;

We have been friends together—
Shall a light word part us now?

We have been sad together,
We have wept with bitter tears,
O'er the grass grown graves where slumbered
The hopes of early years.
The voices which are silent there,
Would bid thee clear thy brow;
We have been sad together—
Oh! what shall part us now?

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]
THE SUGAR-PLUMS.

No, no, pretty sugar-plums! stay where you are!
Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far;
You look very nice, you would taste very sweet,
And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.

For the poor slaves have labored, far down in the south,
To make you so sweet, and so nice for my mouth;
But I want no slaves toiling for me in the sun,
Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.

Perhaps some poor slave-child that hoed up the ground,
Round the cane in whose rich juice your sweetness was found,
Was flogged till his mother cried sadly to see,
And I'm sure I want nobody beaten for me.

So grandma, I thank you for being so kind,
But your present to-day is not much to my mind;
Tho' I love you so dearly, I choose not to eat
Ev'n what you have sent me, by slavery made sweet.

Thus said little Fanny, and skipped off to play,
Leaving all her nice sugar-plums just where they lay;
As merry as if they had gone in her mouth,
And she had not cared for the slaves of the south.

MARGARET.

SONNET.

God's works are very beautiful! The sky,
Blue, vast, and cloudless in its broad expanse,
Or fleeced with golden vapours; the bright glance
Of waters, flashing 'neath the sun's warm eye;

Meadows, and vine-clung crags, and towering high,
The forest foliage, shadowed like a dream
In its rich moulding, with the sunset gleam—
The sheen of moon-beams, sleeping quietly

Upon the earth, and swift wings glancing by
In the gay sunshine—But too oft for me fair
To man is sordid Mammon's yellow glare,
Albeit purchased with the torturing sigh

Of his poor victim brother! Wretched slave!
Earth's fairest spot for thee, too often, is the grave.

[Idem.] E. M. C.

THE EVENING CLOUD.

A cloud lay cradled near the setting sun,
A gleam of crimson tinged its braided snow;
Long had I watch'd the glory moving on,
On the still radiance of the Lake below.

Tranquil its spirit seem'd, and floated slow;
E'en in its very motion there was rest;
While every breath of eve, that chanc'd to blow,
Wafted the traveller to the beautiful west.

Emblem, methought, of the departed soul!
To whose white robe the dream of bliss is given;
And by the breath of mercy made to roll
Right onward, to the golden gates of Heaven;

Where, to the eye of faith, it peaceful lies,
And tells to man his glorious destinies.

IMMORTALITY.

Immortal! Ages past, yet nothing gone!
Morn without eve! a race without a goal!
Unshor'd by progression infinite!
Futurity forever future! Life
Beginning still where computation ends!
'Tis the description of a Deity!

'Tis the description of the meanest slave!

YOUNG.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CASPAR HAUSER.

An individual kept in a dungeon, separated from
all communication with the world from early
childhood to about the age of seventeen.

It required no little pains and much patience in correcting his mistakes, in order to teach him the difference between things which are, and such as are not organized; between animate and inanimate things; and between voluntary motion, and motion that is communicated from without. Many things which bore the form of men, or animals, though cut in stone, carved in wood, or painted, he would still conceive to be animated, and ascribe to them such qualities as he perceived to exist in other animated beings. It appeared strange to him that horses, unicorns, ostriches, &c. which were hewn or painted upon the walls or houses in the city, remained always stationary, and did not run away. He expressed his indignation against a statue in the garden belonging to the house in which he lived, because, although it was so dirty, yet it did not wash itself.—When for the first time he saw the great crucifix on the outside of the church of St. Sebaldus, its view affected him with horror and with pain: and he earnestly entreated that the man who was so dreadfully tormented might be taken down. Nor could he, for a long time, be pacified, although it was explained to him, that it was not any real man, but only an image, which felt nothing. He conceived every motion that he observed to take place in any object, to be a spontaneous effect of life. If a sheet of paper was blown down by the wind, he thought that it had run away from the table; and, if a child's wagon was rolling down a hill, it was, in his opinion, making an excursion for its own amusement. He supposed, that a tree manifested its life, by moving its twigs and leaves; and its voice was heard in the rustling of its leaves, when they were moved by the wind.—He expressed his indignation against a boy who struck the stem of a tree with a small stick, for giving the tree so much pain.—To judge from his expressions, the balls of a ninepin alley ran voluntarily along; they hurt other balls when they struck against them, and when they stopped, it was because they were tired. Professor Daumer endeavored for a long time in vain, to convince him that a ball does not move voluntarily. He succeeded at length in doing so, by directing Caspar to make a ball himself from the crumbs of his bread, and afterwards to roll it along.—He was convinced that a humming top, which he had long been spinning, did not move voluntarily, only by finding, that after frequently winding up the cord, his arm began to hurt him; being thus sensibly convinced, that he had himself exerted the power which was expended in causing it to move.

To animals, particularly, he for a long time ascribed the same properties as to men; and he appeared to distinguish the one from the other only by the difference of their external form. He was angry with a cat for taking its food only with its mouth without ever using its hands for that purpose. He wished to teach it to use its paws and to sit upright. He spoke to it as to a being like himself, and expressed great indignation at its unwillingness to attend to what he said, and to learn from him. On the contrary, he once highly commended the obedience of a certain dog. Seeing a gray cat, he asked why she did not wash herself that she might become white? When he saw oxen lying down on the pavement of the street, he wondered why they did not go home and lie down there. If it was replied that such things could not be expected from animals, because they were unable to act thus, his answer was immediately ready: then they ought to learn it; there were so many things which he also was obliged to learn.

Still less had he any conception of the origin and growth of any of the organic productions of nature. He always spoke as if all trees had been stuck into the ground, as if all leaves and flowers were the work of human hands. The first materials of an idea of the origin of plants, were furnished him by his planting, according to the directions of his instructor, a few beans, with his own hands, in a flower pot; and by his afterwards being made to observe, how they germinated and produced leaves, as it were, under his own eye. But in general, he was accustomed to ask, respecting almost every production of nature, who made that thing?

Of the beauties of nature he had no perception. Nor did nature seem to interest him otherwise, than by exciting his curiosity, and by suggesting the question who made such a thing? When, for the first time, he saw a rainbow, its view appeared for a few moments to give him pleasure. But he soon turned away from it; and he seemed to be much more interested in the question, who made it? than in the beauty of its apparition.

Yet there was one view, which made a remarkable exception from this observation, and which must be regarded as a great and never to be forgotten incident, in the gradual development of his mental life. It was in the month of August, 1828, when, on a fine summer evening, his instructor showed him for the first time the starry heavens. His astonishment and transport surpassed all description. He could not be satiated with its sight, and was ever returning to gaze upon it; at the same time fixing accurately with his eye the different groups that were pointed out to him, remarking the stars most distinguished for their brightness, and observing the differences of their respective colors. 'That,' he exclaimed, 'is indeed the most beautiful sight that I have ever yet seen in the world. But who has placed all these numerous beautiful candles there? who lights them? who puts them out?' When he was told that, like the sun with which he was already acquainted, they always continue to give light, he asked again: who placed them there above, that they may always continue to give light? At length, standing motionless, with his head bowed down, and his eyes staring, he fell into a train of deep and serious meditation. When he again recovered his recollection, his transport had been succeeded by deep sadness. He sank trembling upon a chair, and asked, why that wicked man had kept him always locked up, and never shown him any of those beautiful things.

He (Caspar) had never done any harm. He then broke out into a fit of crying, which lasted for a long time, and which could with difficulty be soothed; and said, that the man with whom he had always been, may now also be locked up for a few days, that he may learn to know how hard it is to be treated so. Before seeing this beautiful celestial display, Caspar had never shown anything like indignation against that man; and much less had he ever been willing to hear that he ought to be punished. Only weariness and slumber were able to quiet his sensations; and he did not fall asleep—a thing that had never happened to him before—until it was about 11 o'clock. Indeed, it was in Mr. Daumer's family that he began more and more to reflect upon his unhappy fate, and to become painfully sensible of what had been withheld and taken from him. It was only there, that the ideas of family, of relationship, of friendship, of those human ties, that bind parents and children and brothers and sisters to each other, were brought home to his feelings; it was only there, that the names mother, sister, and brother were rendered intelligible to him, when he saw how mother, sister, and brother, were reciprocally united to each other by mutual affection, and by mutual endeavors to make each other happy. He would often ask for an explanation of what is meant by mother, by brother, and by sister; and endeavors were made to satisfy him by appropriate answers. Soon after, he was found sitting in his chair, apparently immersed in deep meditations. When he was asked what was now again the matter with him? he replied with tears; 'he had been thinking about what was the reason, why he had not a mother, a brother and a sister; for it was so very pretty a thing to have them.'

COWPER.

The poet of 'The Sofa,' when 'in merry pin,' trifled pleasantly. As an instance of his manner, there remains the following

LETTER TO THE REV. J. NEWTON.

JULY 12, 1781.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I am going to send, what, when you have read, you may scratch your head, and say, I suppose there's nobody knows, whether what I have got, be verse or not; by the time or the time, it ought to be rhyme; but if it be, did you ever see, of late or of yore, such a ditty before?

I have writ Charity, not for popularity, but as well as I could, in hopes to do good; and if the reviewer should say 'to be sure, the gentlemen's muse, wears Methodist shoes; you may know by her pace, and talk about grace, that she and her bard, have little regard, for the taste and fashions, and ruling passions, and hoidenling play, of the modern day; and though she assume a borrowed plume, and now and then wear a tittering air, 'tis only her plan, to catch if she can, the giddy and gay, as they go that way, by a production, on a new construction; she has baited her trap, in hopes to snap, all that may come, with a sugar plum.' His opinion in this will not be amiss: 'tis what I intend, my principal end; and if I succeed, and folks should read, till a few are brought, to a serious thought, I should think I am paid for all I have said, and all I have done, though I have run, many a time after a rhyme, as far from hence, to the end of sense, and by hook or crook, write another book, if I live and am here, another year.

I have heard before, of a room with a floor, laid upon springs, and such like things, so much art, in every part, that when you went in, you were forced to begin a minute pace, with an air and a grace, swarming about, now in and now out, with a deal of state, in a figure of eight, without pipe or string, or any such thing. And now I have writ, in a rhyming fit, what will make you dance, and as you advance, will keep you still, though against your will, dancing away, alert and gay, till you come to an end of what I have penned; which that you may do, ere madam and you are quite worn out, with jiggling about, I take my leave, and here you receive a bow profound, down to the ground, from your humble me—

W. C.

HARTFORD CONVENTION. We are glad to learn that Theodore Dwight, a gentleman well qualified for the task, and one of the editors of that ably conducted journal, the New-York Daily Advertiser, is preparing for the press a history of the Hartford Convention. This somewhat notorious assemblage, which certain modern politicians, as a test of their own stony patriotism, are in the habit of most vehemently denouncing, could not have found a more intellectual and able, and, since party strifes have ceased to interest, we sincerely believe, a more impartial historian than in this worthy gentleman. A distinguished member of this convention, not long since, under the solemnity of an oath, declared its objects and designs. So far from being treasonable, they were eminently patriotic. Our individual feelings at the time were indignantly hostile to the men and their presumed measures. Time, which mellows even the asperities of party strife, and facts, which are proverbially stubborn, have also thrown a new and brighter light upon this celebrated convention. So far as patriotism and fidelity to the best interests of the nation were involved, we deem the Hartford assemblage, compared with that of the Carolina traitors, as light to darkness, as the celestial hierarchy to the fallen host of pandemonium.—New-Orleans Emporium.

Expedition to the Niger.—Extract of a letter from Mr. Richard Lander, dated Isle de Loz, Coast of Africa, Sept. 6, 1832:—

'I write merely to inform you we arrived here on the 3d instant, all well, and leave for Cape Coast this evening. All the vessels have behaved very well: we have had several tornadoes; the lightning was felt more on board the Quorra than the iron steamer; it remained on our decks, but it merely struck the sides of the latter, and glided off into the water.—This will give you an idea that an iron vessel is even safer than one built of wood. On board the Quorra we suffered much from the smell of bilgewater, while the iron vessel had not made one inch of water since she sailed from Liverpool, and she is never warmer than the water she floats in. The most important part of my work will soon begin, when I hope to send you some very favorable news.'

Practical Pun.—Mr. Chandler, the Editor of the United States Gazette, relates the following anecdote:

Yesterday morning a colored man was seen wending his way along Ninth street, bending under the weight of a large basket of beef tallow, but evidently at a loss as it regarded the end of his journey, till discovering on a door plate the name of the writer of this paragraph, he made a dead halt, and set himself to the business of spelling out the name. The correspondence was exact—where was a basket of tallow to be carried, if not to a chandler's?—so he rang the bell most manfully. The womenkind insisted that no such 'stuff' belonged there; but the bearer declared that all was right, the gentleman had paid him, and 'he guessed he knew where to carry tallow.' It was in vain that they protested that lamps, and not candlesticks, were used in the house, from cellar to garret; the whole was left, and there it remains, a monument of the 'attractions of a good name.'

At the late anniversary of the Typographical Society, in Philadelphia, the Nullifiers are technically hit off in the following Toasts, by Wm. Hill, and Mr. McKelly.

'Calhoun, Cooper, Hayne and Hamilton—The leaders of the Nullifiers; may their heads be used for mallets, and their arms for shooting sticks to tighten the quins of the form of twenty-fours.'

'The Union—A capital form of Government, having no (I) in the history of nations—may a new (S) in the Constitution put a (.) to the foul attempt to erase a (*) from our country's banner; otherwise a (H) will be planted in our reputation, which will cause the (R) of scorn to be pointed at us. Let the American press so (N) the infamy of Southern Nullifiers that neither the influence of British (L's) nor the loss of American (S's) will induce any citizen to resist his country's laws. If one drop of blood is spilled in the cause of disunion, may the ambition of its movers receive such a (P) of exaltation that their (S) may be cut short by the (N) of a hempen cord.'

The Carolinians complain bitterly of the protection, which they say is given the manufacturers at the North, at the expense of the South. We on the contrary aver that the property of the South is protected at the expense of the North. The slave property of the slaveholding states is the constant theme of foreign travellers and critics; and those who envy this country her prosperity, and feel a disposition to revile her institutions, find a abundant room for cavil in the fact that the government of a country which has for the base of its institutions, the fact 'that all men are born free and equal,' still supports part of its citizens in the unjust, wicked, and oppressive system of slave labor. And the North must bear a proportion of the obloquy, though guiltless of the crime. The fluctuations of trade may relieve the embarrassments of the South—by their own efforts they may better their condition—but no exertion, on the part of the non-slaveholding states, can clear them from the stigma of supporting a government which authorizes and protects the slavery system, short of a dissolution from allegiance to that government.—Lowell Compend.

[From the Washington Telegraph.]

GEN. GREEN: I have a stove in my chamber of the common size, but of a new and peculiar construction, which I have found, by actual experiment, will keep a fire burning, day and night the whole year round, with one cent's worth of wood per day, at six dollars a cord; and it will require touching but twice in the 24 hours. What is, perhaps, still more remarkable, it will at the same time contribute very considerably to the mildness of the temperature of a room in the coldest weather. If any yankee in the country thinks he can beat this, he is challenged to do so.

Yours with much respect, ISAAC ORR.
Washington, Jan. 5, 1833.

JOB'S THREE DAUGHTERS. We remember some time ago inserting, at the request of our Headcorn friends, an account of three old ladies in that parish, named after Job's three daughters, Jemima, Keziah, and Keren-happuch, meeting together to enjoy a social cup of tea, each in the enjoyment of every faculty at the age of nearly 80 years. We have to state that the old ladies have all departed this life, at intervals exactly corresponding with those which intervened between their respective births. The last died a few days ago, aged 83 years, greatly esteemed and regretted by all the inhabitants of the respectable village of Headcorn.—Maidstone Journal.

Magnificent Bridal Cake.—The Aberdeen Journal, in giving an account of the splendid ceremonies which were witnessed at the marriage of the Marquis of Abercorn and Lady Louisa Russell, has not overlooked the gigantic bridal cake. The Journal says: 'The bridal cake, which was most magnificent, attracted every eye. A pyramid of huge concentrated circles, of seven feet full in circumference at the base, supported on the top the mimic form of an elegant cathedral Gothic church, where amid the thousand figures which adorned this triumph of confectionary art, might be seen the effigies of two devoted lovers and their nuptial attendants assembled at the altar, along with the Lilliputian image of the officiating clergyman in the act of pronouncing over them the matrimonial benediction.'

A late Turkish Journal has this statement: 'A Magistrate of this canton being lately called to affix seals upon the effects of a person who had recently died, was, with his assistants, making the usual examination of the apartments, when he came to a dark room of only a few square feet, and there found alive the wife of the deceased, who had not been heard of for fifteen years, during which time she had been shut up in the place where she was discovered. Judicial inquiries are being made as to this most extraordinary incarceration.'

KITTEN PIE. The New Bedford Gazette states that one evening last week a lady in that town made up a fine batch of dough, in a trough, and left it on the hearth before the embers, in order that it might rise before morning, when it was to be transformed into plumb

'dough bats.' On going into the kitchen in the morning, the lady found a batch of seven 'young infant' kittens all snugly bedded in the warm dough, and the old cat sitting by, watching, with Turk-like gravity, this unlooked for addition to the morning breakfast.

INFORMATION WANTED.—Harriet Werris (formerly Wood) is very anxious to obtain some intelligence of her brother, Martin Wood, a native of Hastings, who to some property in Hastings, and is believed to be somewhere in the United States. Any intelligence respecting him will be gratefully received by his sister, residing at Spring-grove, near Stanley Bridge, Lancashire, England.

The insertion of this notice in other papers will be an act of benevolence.

The Philadelphia Courier is now the largest paper in the country. Some copies have been cracked open in its immense dimensions. The U. S. Gazette says: 'We looked at several columns in one page and found them; but not being very well, we had not time to walk out to the other page. We heard a report in the evening, however, from some who had visited the side of the paper, that it was 'all well.'

The wife of Mr. Holt, keeper of a Hotel in New York, in addition to the cares of a large establishment, has made up with her own hands within the last six years, 1500 towels, 400 pair sheets, 400 pair of pillow cases, all rolled or pointed, 250 bed ticks, and 300 patch-work bed quilts. Surely a man with such a wife may well build his house of marble and fill it with luxuries.

Henry Eckford.—The National Intelligencer publishes an extract of a letter to a member of Congress, in which it is said of Henry Eckford, Esq. of New York, that he is still busy in the Sultan's Navy Yard, and that 'with his characteristic energy, he has commenced three seventy-fours, and one very large line of battle-ship of the highest rate. The Sultan has presented him with his own hands, Cashmere Shamses of great price, and a gold snuff-box set with diamonds.'

The whole number of militia in the United States according to the latest returns, is 1,308,947; of whom 188,615 are in the State of New York.

MORAL.

[From the Genius of Temperance.]

'Oh! I'M ONLY A PASSENGER!' At a certain time, no matter when—a vessel, which was crossing the water, sprung a leak, and it was with the utmost difficulty she was afterwards kept afloat. The pumps had to be incessantly in motion; and the hands, by their constant fatigue, night and day, were nearly exhausted—while the water slowly increased in the hold. While matters were thus going on, a person who had been in the habit of walking the deck with his digits in his pockets, was saluted by the captain after this manner:—'Come, sir, take hold and help us at the pumps—or we shall certainly go to the bottom!' 'Well, captain, (said he,) that's nothing to me: I'm only a passenger!'

We may laugh at the folly, or selfishness, or indolence of such a man. But his likeness is to be seen in thousands of persons all over the land. Indeed, the great mass of men of the present day are as like him as you can imagine. Do you doubt? Call upon the first man you meet, and ask him what he is doing to destroy licentiousness. Ten to one he will say, he has no time to devote to such matters: his influence is nothing—and what little he could do would be of no avail: 'it's nothing to him—he's only a passenger!'

Go to another: urge on him the multiplied evils of lottery and other gambling: point him to the families who have been beggared, and the many who have been ruined, for the want of effort on the part of those who disapprove of such things. 'He does not gamble—and if every one would look out for himself, there would be no need of it.' He's only a passenger!

Ask another to help forward the temperance reform—to drink no intoxicating liquors, and to pledge his influence to put an end to the evils arising therefrom:—'O! says he, 'I can govern myself; and as for the rest of the world, that's nothing to me: I'm only a passenger!'

Introduce the subject of slavery. Say to a person, there are above two millions of slaves in this country—who have no privileges, and no protection—subject to the caprice and brutality of those who unjustly oppress and hold them in bondage: say to him, we should exert ourselves peaceably to restore to them their rights—and that one good way is, to abstain as far as is practicable from using the productions of their labor: 'I am only an individual: if you could get every body to do so, it might answer—but what little I can do will affect nothing: I'm only a passenger!'

In fact, almost every man who makes any pretensions to morality, is too apt to consider himself 'only a passenger;' and, therefore, under no obligation to help to extricate society from the difficulties and depravity with which it is encumbered. If they finally land safe, it is well; but if universal destruction were threatened against human morals, and the combined efforts of those who claim to be virtuous were amply sufficient to stay the destruction, you could hardly prevail upon them to take off their gloves, and consider themselves in any other character than 'passengers.'

A MONEY MAKER.

'Do you sell ardent spirit?'
'Yes! I sell any thing to make money. I would sell the shirt from my back, if I could make a profit by it!'

Mark!—the person who made this declaration is a member of a christian church! He attends the house of God! He sings to his praise! He hears the mischiefs of intoxicating liquors published from the pulpit! and he has been faithfully warned, and affectionately entreated! And yet he 'will sell any thing to make money!'

How many such christians are there in the world? How many such in the city of New-York? And how many such would it take to make an efficient church? We ask for information.—Genius of Temperance.

ACCOUNTABILITY. Let every one settle it as a principle, that his conscience, and not his lay or spiritual leaders, must be his commander. It matters not whether we are with the multitude or the minority; we should never forget that we act on our own responsibility. What is the tongue of reproach, compared to the sting of guilt? The multitude may shield even guilt from insult; but who shall save it from remorse? Insult may wound the pride—but guilt only can lacerate the soul.